

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION NATO

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E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: MASS, TU

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE
BILL - TURKISH ASPECT

REF: STATE 113070

1. THE HOUSE PASSED SECURITY ASSISTANCE BILL MAY 24 BY
FINAL VOTE OF 242-163, AFTER TWO DAYS DEBATE. MOST OF DE-
BATE CENTERED ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, ARGENTINA, AFRICA,
ETC. HIRC-RECOMMENDED PROVISIONS RE ASSISTANCE FOR CYPRUS,
GREECE, AND TURKEY WERE APPROVED WITHOUT MODIFICATION.

2. JUST PRIOR TO FINAL VOTE AND AFTER ALL AMENDMENTS HAD
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BEEN CONSIDERED, CONGRESSMAN FINDLEY, (R-ILL) IN UNEXPECTED
MOVE, SUBMITTED MOTION TO RECOMMIT BILL WITH INSTRUCTIONS
THAT HIRC CONSIDER AN AMENDMENT TO SECTION 620(X) TO
AUTHORIZE PRESIDENT TO SUSPEND ITS PROVISIONS IF HE DETER-
MINES THAT SUCH SUSPENSION IS NECESSARY (A) TO ENABLE
TURKEY TO FULFILL ITS DEFENSE RESPONSIBILITIES AS A MEMBER
OF NATO OR (B) TO MEET OVERRIDING REQUIREMENTS OF U.S.

NATIONAL SECURITY. SUCH DETERMINATION WOULD BE REPORTED TO CONGRESS, TOGETHER WITH REASONS FOR IT AND DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF ASSISTANCE OR SALE. IN BRIEF DEBATE, PROPOSAL WAS SUPPORTED BY DERWINSKI AND SEVEN OTHERS.

3. HIRC CHAIRMAN ZABLOCKI, SPEAKING IN OPPOSITION, NOTED THAT, WHILE HE SUPPORTED SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY, FINDLEY PROPOSAL INVOLVED A VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE WHICH REQUIRED IN-DEPTH CONSIDERATION. TURKEY PROVISIONS OF BILL WERE RESULT OF LONG AND INVOLVED NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF HOUSE, SENATE, AND EXECUTIVE BRANCH. FINDLEY PROPOSAL HAD NOT BEEN SOUGHT BY ADMINISTRATION, NOR HAD IT BEEN DISCUSSED IN COMMITTEE. ZABLOCKI NOTED THAT EXECUTIVE BRANCH WAS TRYING TO WORK OUT BEST POSSIBLE AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE MEANS TO PERMIT TURKISH PURCHASE OF F-4 AIRCRAFT TO GO FORWARD. COMMITTEE HAD GIVEN SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE TO US-TURKISH DCA AND HOPED THAT OVER NEXT FEW MONTHS ALL WOULD TRY TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON FUTURE NEEDS AND EFFORTS TO RESOLVE CYPRUS IMPASSE AND PROBLEMS IT HAS CAUSED IN GREECE AND TURKEY. FASCELL ALSO SPOKE IN OPPOSITION.

4. FINDLEY MOTION WAS DEFEATED 256-150 IN VOTE ESSENTIALLY ALONG PARTY LINES.

5. DURING INITIAL GENERAL DEBATE MAY 23, BROOMFIELD, HIRC RANKING MINORITY MEMBER, CITED IMPORTANCE OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AREA AS STRATEGIC "EASTERN ANCHOR IN THE NATO STRUCTURE," AND SAID IT WAS INCUMBENT UPON ADMINIS-

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TRATION TO CONTINUE EFFORTS INITIATED BY CLARK CLIFFORD "TO PURSUE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE DIFFERENCES THAT DIVIDE TWO OF OUR OLDEST AND CLOSEST FRIENDS AND NATO ALLIES." HE ADDED "IN ENCOURAGING THE PARTIES TO RESOLVE THESE DIFFICULT MATTERS WHICH DIRECTLY AFFECT THE SECURITY OF NATO AND THE TRAGIC SITUATION ON CYPRUS, OUR GOVERNMENT MUST EXERCISE MORAL AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS A HIGH ORDER OF STATESMANSHIP."

6. CONGRESSMAN ROSENTHAL IN STATEMENT INSERTED IN RECORD, SAID THAT CYPRUS IS CENTRAL BOTH TO PROBLEMS OF EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND TO THEIR SOLUTION. AFTER REVIEWING RECENT CYPRUS HISTORY AND CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, ROSENTHAL SAID TURKEY HAS REFUSED TO PRESENT A SERIOUS NEGOTIATING POSITION AND HAS THEREBY DEMONSTRATED HERSELF TO BE "LESS THAN RELIABLE DEFENSE PARTNER." FOLLOWING ARE FURTHER EXTRACTS FROM ROSENTHAL'S STATEMENT:

"AFTER CONSIDERABLE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ADMINISTRATION,

THE COMMITTEE VERSION OF THE BILL WAS AGREED UPON IN THE FOLLOWING FORM:

FIRST, THE DOLS 175 MILLION IN FMS TRANSACTIONS IS AUTHORIZED;

SECOND, NO ADDITIONAL FUNDS ARE MADE AVAILABLE FOR THE F-4 PURCHASE; AND

THIRD, NO COMMITMENT IS MADE OR IMPLIED BY THE CONGRESS IN APPROVING THIS BILL TO APPROVING OR CONSIDERING THE DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH TURKEY.

I SUPPORT THIS BILL IN THIS FORM BUT I MUST MAKE CLEAR MY GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO THESE QUESTIONS. FOR IN THAT APPROACH, I DETECT THE SAME ERRORS WHICH MARKED THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. I SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE SAME OBSESSIVE CONCERN WITH FOREIGN UNCLASSIFIED

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MILITARY BASES TO THE POINT WHERE NO OTHER VALUES APPEAR OF ANY IMPORTANCE. THE SECOND ERROR, RELATED TO THE FIRST, IS ASSUMING THAT TURKEY'S DEFENSE IS MORE IMPORTANT TO US THAN IT IS TO TURKEY. IF TURKEY DECIDES THAT THE U.S. BASES WITHIN ITS BORDERS SHOULD BE CLOSED RATHER THAN MAKE A REASONABLE COMPROMISE ON CYPRUS, THE LESSON SHOULD BE THAT TURKEY IS A LESS THAN RELIABLE DEFENSE PARTNER AND THAT IT IS BETTER TO KNOW THIS NOW THAN IN SOME FUTURE EMERGENCY. FINALLY, THE NEW ADMINISTRATION SEEMS TO WANT TO SUPPORT THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT IN TURKEY DURING THAT COUNTRY'S PRESENT ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN. THE RESULT IS THAT THE INCUMBENT GOVERNMENT IS MAKING THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION A FACTOR IN ITS CAMPAIGN WHILE ITS OPPONENTS CHARGE THE UNITED STATES WITH INTERFERENCE IN THE TURKISH ELECTORAL PROCESS.

I RECOGNIZE THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS HAD BUT A FEW MONTHS IN OFFICE, THAT IT CANNOT SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS AT ONCE AND THAT SOME OF ITS OFFICIALS SINCERELY WANT TO CHANGE THE POLICIES WHICH HAVE LED TO THE PRESENT IMPASSE OVER CYPRUS. IN CLOSING, THEREFORE, I WOULD ONLY OFFER THIS ADVICE: THE WAY TO COOPERATE WITH THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF THE CONGRESS IS TO COOPERATE. FOR TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS, THE CONGRESS FACED AN ADMINISTRATION WHICH PROMISED PROGRESS AND DELIVERED FRUSTRATION ON THIS ISSUE. THE CONGRESS HAS SHOWN THAT IT IS WILLING TO ACCOMMODATE WHEN THE GOAL IS REASONABLE. WE HAVE BEEN ASSURED, WITH THIS BILL, THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WILL PURSUE THE GOAL OF JUSTICE ON CYPRUS.

WE WILL SUPPORT THOSE EFFORTS, BUT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION MUST RECOGNIZE THAT SUCH ASSURANCES CAME REGULARLY FROM ITS

PREDECESSOR ALSO.

HAVING BEEN DISAPPOINTED OFTEN ON THIS ISSUE IN THE PAST,
THE CONGRESS IS BOTH WARY AND IMPATIENT. THE ISSUES INVOL-
VED MERIT THE DIRECT AND PERSONAL ATTENTION OF THE PRESI-
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DENT AND HIS SECRETARY OF STATE."

7. HAMILTON, CHAIRMAN HIRC SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND THE
MIDDLE EAST, INSERTED STATEMENT POINTING OUT THAT "ASSIS-
TANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY WILL HOPEFULLY CREATE ATMOSPHERE
IN WHICH PROGRESS CAN BE ACHIEVED ON CYPRUS SETTLEMENT,
LEADING TO THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY AND
THE RESTORATION OF GOOD AND CLOSE TIES AMONG THE US, TUR-
KEY AND GREECE." "PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA CANNOT FESTER:
WE IGNORE OUR PROBLEMS WITH TURKEY, GREECE AND CYPRUS AT
OUR OWN PERIL. THIS LEGISLATION SUPPORTS KEY MILITARY PRO-
GRAMS IN GREECE AND HUMANITARIAN AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS IN
CYPRUS. IT ALSO PERMITS TURKEY TO MAINTAIN ITS NATO
STRENGTH AND PURCHASE THE F-4 AIRCRAFT BY THE BEST POSSIBLE
AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE MEANS, EVEN THOUGH THE EMBARGO ON
MILITARY AID TO TURKEY REMAINS ONLY PARTIALLY LIFTED.

WITH THE WILL OF ANY INTERESTED PARTIES TO THE PROBLEMS OF
THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, BOTH IN THE AREA AND IN THE
UNITED STATES, THIS LEGISLATION CAN HELP US TURN THE CORNER
AND START REBUILDING RELATIONSHIPS IN THE EASTERN MEDITER-
RANEAN AND BEGIN CONSIDERATION OF THE DEFENSE COOPERATION
AGREEMENTS WITH TURKEY AND GREECE WHICH COULD PROVIDE A
FORMAT FOR IMPORTANT FUTURE MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS."

8. A DIALOGUE BETWEEN BROOMFIELD AND HAMILTON UNDERSCORED
IMPORTANCE OF U.S. BASES IN TURKEY, PARTICULARLY INTELLI-
GENCE FACILITIES, WHOSE CLOSING, SAID HAMILTON, CAUSED A
"SIGNIFICANT AND UNIQUE LOSS OF ELECTRONIC INTELLIGENCE ON
SOVIET ACTIVITIES." HE ADDED IT WAS IN U.S. NATIONAL IN-
TEREST TO TRY TO REOPEN THESE FOUR KEY INSTALLATIONS AS
SOON AS POSSIBLE.

9. IN SUBSEQUENT DEBATE ON PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO TERMINATE
IMET ASSISTANCE TO ARGENTINA, LAGOMARSINO NOTED THAT THE
"ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY DID NOT PRODUCE THE RESULT CONGRESS
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INTENDED AND CAUSED THE CLOSING OF VALUABLE NATO BASES."

10. PERTINENT EXTRACTS FROM CONGRESSIONAL RECORD BEING
POUCHED ANKARA, ATHENS, AND NICOSIA. VANCE

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Message Attributes

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